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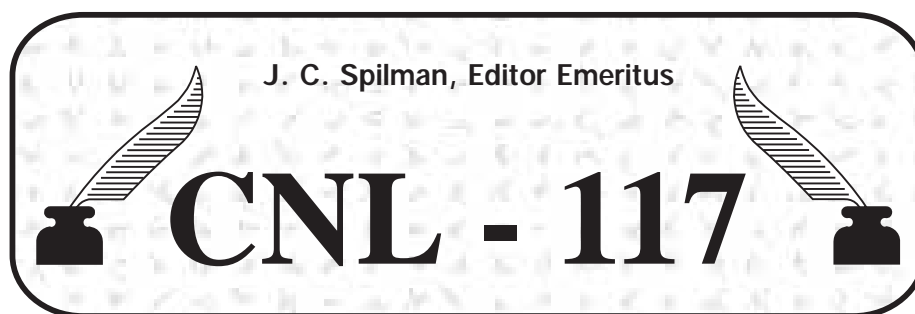
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P. L. Mossman, M.D., Editor

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EDITORIAL

Welcome to CNL-117. As indicated in the previous editorial, Dr. Philip Mossman has asked me to take the editorial reins for the next two issues due to conflicts in his personal travel plans. Nevertheless, he has been instrumental in the preparation of some of the papers for this issue. Also, I would like to publicly thank both Phil Mossman and Les Elam for their excellent proof reading. After each new issue is composed, they review it for style and grammar errors before it goes to press.

Starting with the previous issue, I'm sure you have noticed the change to all glossy paper. Even though this paper is slightly more expensive, the enhancement obtained in the halftone images justifies the added cost. In addition, we think it adds a more professional feel to the publication.

This issue is composed of four unrelated papers covering a wide range of topics. We are featuring Brian Danforth's in-depth study on Wood's Hibernia coins in America. He reexamines the historical record and challenges some of the currently accepted numismatic beliefs concerning this coinage. Principally, he discovered that Wood's Money was not rejected, but accepted, in Ireland when first minted in 1722–1724 and that it was not shipped in quantity to the American colonies until the mid-1730s when the new Irish regal copper coins appeared along with a change in the Crown's policy concerning the use of Wood's coinage.

Next, we have a report by John Lorenzo concerning a large early American coin find, along with other artifacts, in upstate New York by a metal detectionist. The coins were found over a period of years scattered within a small geo-

graphical area. It is believed that the find is not a hoard but rather lost small change and is thus a representative sampling of the coins circulating in this area of our country around the turn of the 19th century. A sample specimen listing is included.

David Gladfelter reports on the American colonial coins contained in the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery collection. The Earl assembled his collection in the early 18th century and commissioned Haym to engrave copper plates illustrating the more important specimens. The plates were published in 1746 making them one of the earliest publications illustrating American coins.

Finally, Jim Spilman provides a checklist of early American counterfeit halfpence believed to have been struck in America. His chart provides a handy summary of these interesting coppers which were first catalogued by Robert Vlack in 1964. The chart includes recent rarity estimates along with information on the newly discovered varieties.

The C4 Convention will be held in Boston, MA this year during November 8-11 at the Radisson Hotel, 200 Stuart Street. The hotel's telephone number is (617) 482-1800. The educational program will be on Friday evening, starting at 5 P.M., and the auction will be held Saturday evening at 7 P.M.

Congratulations to Eric P. Newman who recently celebrated his 90th birthday. Eric's many years of research and writing in the field of early American numismatics is exemplary. We look forward to his continued contributions in this field and wish him the very best for the future.

The CNL editorial team hopes you are having a great summer and that you will take some time to sit back, put your feet up, and enjoy this issue. As always, don't hesitate to send us any comments; we appreciate constructive criticism.

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WOOD'S HIBERNIA COINS COME TO AMERICA

by

Brian J. Danforth, Ph.D.; Slingerlands, NY

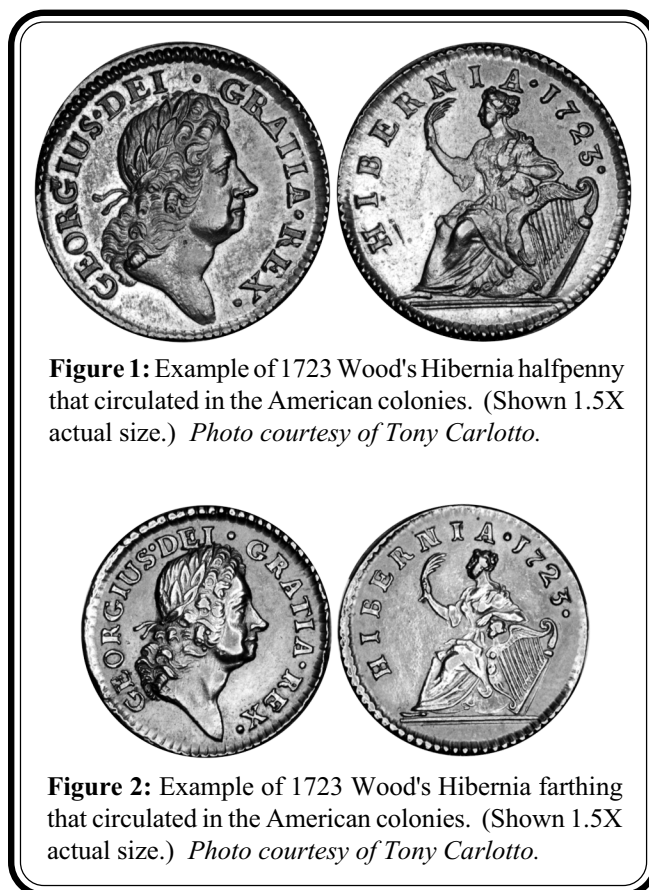


Figure 1: Example of 1723 Wood's Hibernia halfpenny that circulated in the American colonies. (Shown 1.5X actual size.) *Photo courtesy of Tony Carlotto.*

Figure 2: Example of 1723 Wood's Hibernia farthing that circulated in the American colonies. (Shown 1.5X actual size.) *Photo courtesy of Tony Carlotto.*

Among colonial coinage, one of the more controversial topics is William Wood's Hibernia coins. Under a 1722 patent, Wood minted at least £40,000 of copper Farthings and Halfpence for what was deemed a coin starved Ireland. Numismatic literature is rife with questions as to the acceptance of these coins in Ireland and their arrival and circulation in the American colonies. This article presents a revised view of what is commonly referenced on the subject.

Most tales pertaining to Wood's Money are not based on research but rather upon the self-serving written record of the opponents to these coppers. After a careful review of historical documents, it becomes clear that Wood's coppers enjoyed extensive use in Ireland. In fact, they became the dominant medium of exchange for everyday transactions, especially in rural areas. Further, it can be reasonably assumed that Wood's coins would have found their way to the American colonies during the course of commerce and immigration.

Finally, when these coins became semi-demonetized in Ireland in 1737, they were not only readily available for export but also arrived in extensive numbers primarily in the Mid-Atlantic colonies.

The story of Wood's coinage should not be gleaned solely from the records of the upper class whose documents have survived the centuries and often form the main source of our understanding of the era. Their concerns generally centered on issues that pertained to silver and gold, which represented the medium of exchange for commerce. The lower class, or the "Common Man," that was the primary user of copper coins, was often illiterate and seldom left a record of its monetary concerns. It is because of these circumstances that many numismatists have been misled in their understanding of the important role that base metal coins, especially Irish coppers, played in the American colonial economy.

It is evident from eighteenth century records that the American colonies lacked sufficient coinage to meet their needs. Further, it is evident that the colonists had a preference for English copper coins. However, it must be noted that England during the early 1700s failed to mint a sufficient supply of coppers to satisfy the daily needs of its own inhabitants let alone the necessities of its far flung colonies. This unmet need had to be satisfied. And it is here that Wood's Hibernia coins

came into service in small transactions, be it at the local market or tavern. With a small loaf of bread at a penny, one could not expect to use bullion or paper money that consisted generally of large denominational notes.

The saga of Wood's Money in America begins with its initial introduction into Ireland. Jonathan Swift, and other opponents of Wood's coinage, laid the groundwork for the perspective that Wood's coins were rejected and failed to circulate in Ireland. Philip Nelson in his pamphlet entitled *The Coinage of William Wood, 1722-1733*, outlined the standard reasons for this opposition:

- (1) the Irish Parliament was not consulted nor did it approve of this venture,
- (2) the coins were to be minted under a private patent rather than at the London mint,
- (3) the weight of Wood's coins was less than that of English regal issue, and
- (4) Wood's proposal to mint £108,000 in coins was deemed to be not only excessive but also detrimental to Ireland's economy.

Intertwined with these arguments was the political fight between the opposing English Whig and Tory parties. Members of the party out of favor, such as Swift, were more than willing to attack their opponents in biting satirical prose as was the norm of the period. And it is here that Wood's coppers became a rallying point for those dissatisfied with London.

Assuming the role of advocates of Irish nationalism, Wood's detractors wrote numerous tracts, leaving behind them a well documented tale of their opposition. Their success was based on their ability to restrict the number of coppers that Wood could import into Ireland, as well as prevent the coins from gaining equal status with regal English coppers. Unfortunately Wood did not understand Irish politics, which led him to be cast negatively in the press.

While Swift and others were able to have an impact on the introduction of Wood's coins into Ireland, it is clear from recent research that Wood's coins did enjoy a high level of acceptance and circulation. For a detailed discussion on this point, see the recent article by the author in the Fall 2000 issue of the *Colonial Coin Collector Club's Newsletter* entitled "Wood's Money: Acceptance or Rejection in Ireland."

Initially, Wood's coins were accepted by the Irish who were in a great need of coppers for daily transactions. As a commentator on the Wood's controversy related:

as soon as the Copper-Money appear'd, it met with a general Approbation; the People took it with so free a Consent, that it became universally current: There was no Objections rais'd, either against its Figure, which was very beautiful, or the Workmanship, which was complete, or the Value and Fineness of the Metal...the Shop-keepers (in particular) felt the Advantage in their Retail Business...These Farthings and Halfpence...are nothing but a certain Quantity of Copper Metal sold in small pieces...they are carried to Market as coin'd Copper Metal...and... 'tis a current Merchandize (*sic*)...¹

The use of Wood's coppers in all probability could not have been prevented. It was generally agreed that Ireland was in great need of an infusion of copper coins. The extent of the monetary shortage, however, was a matter of debate. The general view was that Ireland needed up to £20,000 of additional coppers to meet everyday transactions. Even Swift admitted that there was a deficiency although he placed it at the low figure of £5,000. A moderate voice in this debate was Hugh Boulter who, as Primate to Ireland, advised authorities in London that about £15,000 was a more accurate number. By all standards, Wood's proposal to mint £108,000 was excessive.²

The opposition to Wood's Money was centered in coastal cities such as Dublin. However, even there, Wood's Money was in daily use in coffee-houses where according to one of several contemporary reports they were "chiefly current."³

The high point of opposition was reached during the summer of 1724 when the English Privy Council stated that Wood had within reason complied with the terms of his patent. In response, opponents orchestrated numerous petitions that appeared in Dublin newspapers. In one such instance, the city's bankers proclaimed:

we will neither receive or utter in any Receipt or Payment of Money, or any Account whatever, any of the Halfpence or Farthings coined by William Woods (*sic*)...as we conceive the uttering of said Half-Pence and Farthings will be highly Prejudicial to...the Trade of this Kingdom...⁴

In spite of such proclamations, Wood continued to ship his coins to Ireland. In order to avoid confrontation, imports were often carried out "clandestinely."⁵ At the same time, Wood was forced to increase the discount rate offered to distributing agents as an inducement to acquire his coins. From an initial discount of 15 percent, Wood doubled the rate and may have even raised it further according to some accounts.⁶ Overall, Wood's actions produced some positive results. As a Dublin newspaper reported, we are:

well informed of the Attempts of several Persons in and about this City, who have purchased vast amounts of William Wood's Halfpence and Farthings at cheap Rates, in order to pass the same in this Kingdom...⁷

In the end, the English government realized that opposition to Wood's Money had to cease. As a compromise, Wood surrendered his patent. He also agreed to limit to £40,000 the number of coins that he would import into Ireland. Thus, by 1725, the controversy subsided and opposition to Wood's coppers disappeared from the press.

At this juncture, the fate of Wood's Money is subject to debate. It is often stated in numismatic literature that at this point in the mid-1720s Wood's coins, having been rejected by the Irish, were shipped *en masse* to the American colonies. However, this assessment as to timing is premature. Recent research outlines how these coins were extensively used in Ireland for the next decade and a half before their general export to the colonies. Further, it is clear from the records of the period that Wood's coppers enjoyed widespread circulation in the interim since:

- (1) the Collectors of the King's Revenue were instructed to accept Wood's Money in payment to the Crown,
- (2) the Army was forced to receive Wood's coppers as partial payment of salaries, and
- (3) the lower classes, especially those residing in rural areas, out of need for a medium of exchange, accepted and utilized the coins.⁸

This last point was most problematic to the opponents of Wood's Money, for if the coins became accepted by a significant segment of the population, then it would be difficult to prevent the elevation of Wood's Money to the status of coin of the realm. And it is apparent that Wood's coins were gaining acceptance.

Swift, in his pamphlet of advice to Roman Catholics, expressed his concern that poor and rural Catholics, who dominated the countryside, were accepting Wood's Money. Outraged, Swift wrote:

'tis astonishing to see you...tamely and blindly submit to be impos'd on...Wood was doubtless encouraged by this apparent Indolence of yours to attempt his Experiment. He consider'd you as a very considerable trading Part of the Nation...He therefore expected to meet with no Difficulty on your Side in receiving his Proposal.⁹

As for the Revenue Collectors, they were ordered by London to accept Wood's Money and were probably encouraged by the fact that they could "purchase them at a large discount, and return them at full value to the King." Further, soldiers in spending their wages would "Palm their Brass upon the Country for the Necessities of Life" and, according to Swift, local merchants would be hard pressed to refuse payment in Wood's coppers from the armed representatives of the Crown.¹⁰

In the end, it is apparent that Wood's Money came to represent the dominant copper coin in Ireland. By 1728, the amount of copper coins in Ireland had increased by 150 percent.¹¹ This increase can only be explained by the circulation of Wood's Money. As one contemporary noted, coppers as the lowest species of coin were in general use among the people of the Kingdom.¹² Even Swift had to concede in later years that the people of Ireland, regardless of their sentiments on the issue, accepted Wood's "brass, rather than return empty" after purchasing everyday goods at market.¹³

Having outlined how Wood's Money achieved an important place in the Irish monetary system, it is now time to outline the means by which these coins were transported to the American colonies. As with Ireland, the historical record of the period is primarily revealed through the surviving documents of colonial leaders and businessmen. Unfortunately, their focus as to coinage lay with silver and gold. For the "Common Man" who left behind only limited written documents, his use of coppers is harder to discern.

Irish events were poorly reported in the American colonies. The usual newspaper listing retold mostly incidental events such as when two men were executed:

the hangman was intoxicated...was going to put one of the Ropes about the Parson's Neck as he stood in the Cart, and was with much Difficulty prevented by the Goaler from so doing.¹⁴

and:

A very odd Circumstance happen'd lately...Two Servants liv'd with a Gentleman, the one as a Man Cook, the other, House-keeper...and were married at 16: Some Differences happening between them, the House-keeper declar'd the Cook was no Man, but a Woman...which we here' (*sic*) upon Examination prov'd so.¹⁵

As for Wood's Hibernia coinage, it was initially reported in positive terms such as that related on October 3, 1723:

William Wood, Esq;...began his Coinage for Ireland on Monday last...the said Coin being made of the best English Copper, having on one Side his Majesty's Head with his Inscription GEORGIUS REX; and on the Reverse the Effigies of a Woman playing upon a Harp and around it HIBERNIA...¹⁶

As for the controversy that engulfed Wood's coppers, aside from the brief retelling of the Irish Parliament's Resolution in opposition to Wood's Money, the colonial press basically continued its format of relating minor aspects of life in Ireland.¹⁷ A notable exception pertains to Boston newspapers that during the height of the controversy went so far as to reiterate accusations that Wood was "guilty of a notorious Fraud" as a result of his activities.¹⁸ Outside of the Bay Colony,

however, the otherwise indifference to events in Ireland would have prevented colonists from being caught up in the biases that some felt so strongly in Ireland.

During the colonial era, there existed a need for coins as a medium of exchange for small transactions. This need prior to the American Revolution pertained primarily to the northern colonies where the demands of urban centers, artisans and commerce dictated that the local economy have an adequate supply of copper coins. That this need was never fully satisfied can be attested from colonial records from the earliest days of settlement.

New York illustrates this point on several occasions. First in 1675 when Governor Andros proposed to the Duke of York to import farthings into the colony.¹⁹ Later, in 1715, Governor Hunter recommended that copper from local New York mines be utilized to mint farthings for “ordinary uses.” In a letter to the English Lords of Trade, the Governor stated the need for such a venture:

There is one hardship which I have observed ever since I came into this country, which fall chiefly upon the poorer sorts; that is there being no currency but of silver and bills of credit, the smallest is of two shillings...²⁰

As for the other colonies, attempts to solve the shortage of small change were partially addressed at various times during the colonial era. A notable example was the shipment of £300 of halfpence and farthings to Philadelphia in 1682. Another was the infusion of over £2,000 of coppers into Massachusetts in 1749 as part of England’s compensation for expenses that the Bay Colony incurred in a prior military expedition. For a detailed history of such events see Philip L. Mossman, *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation: A Numismatic, Economic and Historical Correlation*.

In addition to English coppers, Irish coinage played a notable role in the colonial monetary system. Most significant was the importation of the St. Patrick coppers. Given that these coins had been demonetized on the Isle of Man, Mark Newby acquired a large quantity of them which he transported to New Jersey where, by a 1682 act of the colonial legislature, they were recognized as official coins of the colony. Further, it appears that coins from the reign of William III were exported in “great Quantities” to the northern colonies.²¹

As for Wood’s coppers, they came to the American colonies as a result of three different events:

- (1) as a by-product of trade between the colonies and Ireland,
- (2) as a part of the possessions of immigrants leaving Ireland, especially during times necessitated by dire events, and
- (3) as a result of a change in monetary policies in the host country that lessened the value of Wood’s coins.

Trade between the colonies and Ireland prior to the American Revolution pertained mainly to the Middle Colonies. For a detailed discussion on commerce during this era, see John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789*. The summary of their findings was that for the Northern Colonies (c. 1750) Boston’s trade with Ireland accounted for less than 2 percent of the registered tons leaving that port. For Philadelphia and New York, it was about 10 percent and 12 percent respectively. The figure for the Upper South is comparable to that of Boston while the number for the Lower South was negligible.

Wood’s Money was not normally a part of transatlantic trade although it would have crossed the ocean in the possession of seamen. Such coins were more likely the remains of a stay on shore,

stemming from trips to the local market and tavern. As Swift noted, Wood's coppers were used in Irish seaports for everyday purchases. Others noted:

as Farthings and Halfpence were the lowest Species of Coin, so they were dispos'd of, generally Speaking, among the meanest sort of the trading People; and in Consequence of this...they were ordinarily exchange'd...²²

As such, American seamen would have encountered Wood's Money. And the favorable exchange rate whereby coppers were worth twice as much in the colonies as they were in their country of origin provided an inducement to profit by carrying Wood's coins upon returning home. However, the limited resources of average seamen would have constrained any excess in this matter.

Another avenue for the arrival of Wood's coins in the colonies would have been during periods of immigration. Of particular note was the Irish famine of the late 1720s. The severity of the corn crop failure was centered in southern Ireland. As starvation mounted, the rural populace started to migrate to the coastal cities. As one observer of the destitution noted:

Saw the Swarm of Poor which crowded along the Roads scarce able to walk and infinite Numbers starving in every Ditch in the midst of Rags...on every Side with hungry Crises (*sic*)...²³

During the height of the famine in 1729, riots erupted in Dublin as people broke into warehouses in search of corn in order to "prevent their famishing for want of food..."²⁴

The situation was made worse by a severe depression in the linen industry in Northern Ireland. Again, the plight of the poor was dramatic:

great Numbers of them...have been forced to turn to common Beggars, and others...to the Necessity of feeding on Grains, and Blood from the Slaughterhouses, &c. and the Numbers of those distressed Workman is so great...²⁵

Lacking employment opportunities in Ireland, people by the tens of thousands started to immigrate to the American colonies. Having set sail with meager possessions, they were often forced into servitude upon arrival at their destination. A common announcement in Mid-Atlantic newspapers related the situation as follows:

arriv'd here the Ship George & John...from Ireland, who has on Board several Irish Men, Women & Boys, Servants, among whom there is several Trades-Men as Carpenters, Weavers, Taylors, Black-smiths, &c. Whoever Inclines to purchase the Terms of any of them, may apply to the Captain...²⁶

A few years later, in the mid-1730s, the outflow of Irish immigrants to the American colonies was again a notable event. This time the issue was land tenure in rural Ireland. This outflow was considered significant and occurred during the phase-out period for Wood's coppers in Ireland, which would have aided in the export of said coins to the American colonies. As one newspaper reported, the migration:

is now at such a height, that by a moderate Computation, no less than Ten Thousand...will transport themselves this Season.²⁷

Another report referencing the great number of immigrants coming to the Mid-Atlantic colonies stated:

Last week arrived here...from Ireland...about 100 Passengers...About the 13th Instant arrived here 345 Passengers from Ireland, and we have an Account from New Castle (about 40 miles below Philadelphia) that in the space of 24 Hours there arrived about 1000 Souls from the same Place; And that 20 more Ships with Passengers are coming from Ireland.²⁸

It appears from discussions of events at that time that the desire among those leaving Ireland was to take with them as many coins as they could obtain. It can be readily surmised that the preference would have been for those coins that had as high a value as possible with the least amount of bulk. Although gold coins would have represented the highest value, they were not in common circulation. Silver coins were available but only to a modest degree. As a result, bullion coins became scarce and carried an additional premium. The practice of carrying coins out of the country was so disturbing to Irish businessmen that a law was proposed that would have made it illegal to leave the country with bullion coins. Such was not the concern for coppers and they were the only real alternative for poor immigrants. Thus, in 1729, it was noted that the supply of copper coins had lessened in Ireland.²⁹

Given the scarcity of silver and gold coins during the 1720s and 1730s, as well as the limited resources of immigrants, copper coins in spite of their bulk would have been carried out of Ireland. By the mid-1730s, the outflow of coppers can be surmised to have been significant due to the fact that during this time, there appeared in Ireland an array of merchant tokens. Their introduction would only have resulted from a growing shortage of small change.

The first introduction of tokens was not really an attempt to address any shortage of copper coins. Rather the coinage of James Maculla of Dublin, who in 1728 and 1729 minted halfpenny and penny coppers, was inspired by a desire to produce base metal coins of Irish origin as an alternative to Wood's Money. Swift opposed this enterprise and given that it lacked any official support it is doubtful that it had a meaningful impact.³⁰

The next instance was the production of Irish tokens between 1734 and 1736, which was a result of a general copper coin shortage. Here, the coins were primarily issued in two and three pence denominations. The exception was the limited mintage of a halfpenny known as a Belfast Ticket by William Ring who also made a penny. All of these coins were intended to meet local needs near Belfast and Londonderry. Their production coincided with a mass exodus from that region. As for southern Ireland, written notes rather than coins were utilized by the mid-1730s.³¹

The primary destination for immigrants coming to America was the Middle Colonies. Here, the combination of urban centers in need of workers, an expanding economy and the availability of land, posed an ideal attraction. Also, the presence of a heterogeneous population would have been deemed more welcoming. But this region also had its concerns in regard to the influx of so many immigrants. Reacting to this event, Philadelphia imposed a tax of 20 shillings for each Irish servant imported.³² In response, immigrants altered their destination to surrounding areas as follows:

About ten days ago a Ship arrived here from Ireland with 200 Servants, and to avoid paying said Duty they are put on shore at Burlington and Trent Town in New-Jersey. There are now four Vessals (*sic*) more...³³

Southern cities were in their formative stage and utilized a non-free black population to perform many of the necessary artisan tasks. Further, the South, because of slavery, was not viewed as a desirable destination. In fact, a ship captain, who in order to avoid the Philadelphia tax tried to land his Irish passengers in Virginia, disturbed the immigrants to such an extent that they mutinied, forcing the ship to land in New Jersey. The captain took the passengers to court but lost the case.³⁴

In remote areas of the South such as the Shenandoah Valley, Irish immigrants were arriving, having passed through Pennsylvania in search of cheap land. However, these newcomers lived basically on a subsistence level.

In New England, the atmosphere was generally hostile to Irish immigrants who were commonly viewed as “Vagabonds” and “Wenches” and, according to a New England newspaper, only “the very Scum of the Nation, both Freeman and Servants, visit the Plantations.”³⁵ As a disincentive to poorer immigrants coming to the Bay Colony, Massachusetts required that immigrants had to provide a security to ensure that they would not become a financial burden on the Town to which they were relocating. In 1724, the law provided as an alternative to cash that the immigrant would have satisfied this requirement if their effects were valued at £50 or more. This would have represented a considerable asset at that time and was well out of the reach of the poor and displaced Irish immigrant. Also, it is not surprising to witness the Massachusetts General Court dictating that recent arrivals from Ireland must locate themselves in the more remote areas of the colony or be prosecuted by writs of trespass and ejected. Such hostility resulted in the Irish being a minority in the colony, representing less than one percent of the general population in the 1790 census.³⁶ In spite of these problems, there existed pockets of settlements in which the Irish concentrated. A prime example would be the colony of Frederick Fort at Pemaquid Maine where Wood’s coins have been found.³⁷

In response to the regional issues listed above, poor Irish immigrants, being primarily from rural areas, traveled to the Middle Colonies, carrying with them their possessions. The money they took would have been those coins that were readily available as they prepared for departure, including Wood’s coppers which played a dominant role in rural Ireland at that time.

Although trade and especially immigration would have resulted in the introduction of Wood’s Money into the American colonies, it is doubtful that it represented a significant factor. But it did lay the basis for the beginning of a new series of coins for the colonial economy. This would have been conducive to the later arrival of a greater number of Wood’s coppers with the semi-demonetization of Wood’s Money in Ireland in 1737.

Irish leaders had long advocated for official copper coins from the London mint. Finally in 1736, the Crown announced that a new issue of royal copper farthings and halfpence would be made for Ireland. This represented the first Irish regal mintage in decades. The Crown during the next two years produced almost 50 tons of these new coppers.³⁸ Further, the Crown authorized the Treasury to ship to Ireland additional regal English coppers. The new coins were “greedily received” by the populace according to the Lord Primate to Ireland.³⁹ It was generally assumed that given the preference for regal coins, the desirability of Wood’s Money would have greatly lessened.

The demise of Wood’s coppers came in 1737 upon the release into circulation of the new regal coins. Then the Crown proclaimed that the Collectors of the King’s Revenue would thereafter restrict the number of Wood’s coppers that would be accepted in any given payment. This pronouncement coincided with the order that the army would limit its use of Wood’s coins in making payments to the troops. The scene was now set for the export *en masse* of Wood’s Money. As one keen observer of the Irish copper coin market noted earlier, any coin surplus would be shipped off to other countries especially to the American colonies. And the arrival of the new regal coins from England would certainly have created an added supply of coppers in Ireland. In fact, this development was significant enough that for the balance of the decade, no new tokens were produced in Ireland.⁴⁰

Irish newspapers are quiet as to the fate of Wood's Money at this juncture. However, any change from the use of Wood's Money to the new regal coppers must have caused some monetary disruptions. And indeed this is what occurred as reported in Dublin:

all Trade and Business is cramp'd and ruin'd for want of Change, which is so scarce...and were it not for the Circulation of Two-penny written Notes that several of the Merchants, and substantial Inhabitants give out, all Trade would certainly stagnate and stop for want of Change.⁴¹

It can only be assumed that non-regal coins such as Wood's were being taken out of circulation. If this were occurring then the dislocation to the Irish monetary system would have been dramatic given that Wood's Money represented a sizable component of the copper coin market. This was confirmed in the Dublin press when it reported that the disruption was severe enough that it had:

occasion'd a general Dissatisfaction in the People, and several Mobs in the City... rioted.⁴²

It can be surmised that given the lessened desirability of Wood's coins at this juncture, they, like the St. Patrick coppers before them, were bought up and shipped to the coin starved American colonies. The logical place to observe reactions to an infusion of base coppers into the local economy would be in those colonies that had an extensive trade connection with Ireland as well as a significant Irish population that would have been accustomed to Wood's coppers. Further, a receptive region would have to have urban centers with a strong local economy that would have been in need of base metal coins for daily transactions.

Given the above criteria, the Mid-Atlantic Colonies represent an ideal setting for the importation of Wood's coppers. And it certainly helped that this region was undergoing rapid economic expansion during the 1730s which would have increased their receptiveness to any infusion of new coins. Further, the region had a history of utilizing Irish coins be they Newby's St. Patrick pieces or those from the reign of William III.⁴³

The South, in addition to lacking the key components listed above, appears to have generally not needed copper coins. Thomas Jefferson in discussing the issue as it pertained to Virginia stated that copper coins were not used in that colony.⁴⁴ Supporting this fact are advertisements in the *Virginia Gazette* wherein merchandise was listed for sale in terms of English Sterling and occasionally in Spanish money such as book subscriptions for "Half a Pistole."⁴⁵ In the Carolinas, merchandise was listed almost entirely in Spanish funds. The colony of Georgia was basically non-existent in the 1730s. In spite of the above commentary, one should not suppose that coppers were totally absent from the South. Rather, it can be inferred that base metal coins played at most a minor role.

New England, on the other hand, met the urban, strong local economy criteria for adopting Wood's Money. Yet, it is doubtful that said coins played much of a noticeable role in that region's economy given its strong anti-Irish sentiment and limited Irish population coupled with only minor trade relations with Ireland. Also, the region was economically dominated by Boston with its strong preference for English coppers. Further, the Bay Colony issued its own supply of small pence paper money in 1722 and again in 1737. The first issue of £500 was small, limiting its impact. The latter issue of £2,625 was more significant. Although the intent of such paper notes was to abate the practice of tearing larger notes into segments in order to make change, the availability of small denomination notes would have lessened the need and use of Wood's Money in that region.⁴⁶

In spite of the above efforts, New England still had a shortage of copper coins although it was not as severe as in the Mid-Atlantic Colonies. This might have been one of the reasons for the production in 1737 of the Higley coins in Connecticut. However, the ensuing controversy

surrounding these lightweight coins dampened their acceptance as can be noted in their inscription which changed from "value of three pence" to "value me as you please." Overall, the concern for an additional supply of money was enough that a number of Boston Freeholders petitioned the Massachusetts General Court in 1737 for:

Relief under our present difficult and distressing Circumstances for want of a sufficient Medium, whereby the Trade and Business of the Town is very much decayed...and Cash to purchase the Necessaries (*sic*) of Life hard to obtained...^{.47}

In the Middle Colonies, there were two dominant commercial centers: Philadelphia and New York City. Between them they controlled the economic affairs of New Jersey. In addition, Philadelphia extended its influence over Delaware and into Maryland through commercial ties to the Chesapeake Bay region and New York's trade connections through Albany extended into southern Vermont whose remoteness isolated it from Boston.

From the newspapers of the 1730s, New York clearly had a problem in 1737 with an infusion of copper farthings and halfpence. And, Pennsylvania had similar concerns. New York tried to address the issue through a regulatory measure to restrict the importation of copper coins. Pennsylvania's solution was to consider printing paper money:

the General Court has under their Consideration the making of small Money from a Penny to six Pence, of the new Tenour, to accommodate the Trading Part.⁴⁸

It is arguable that of these two commercial centers, New York had the greater concern with the infusion of copper coins. The problem may have been exasperated in the colony by the fact that due to the region's rapidly developing economy, it had a greater need for money. Further, it must be noted that New York had a more advantageous exchange rate for coppers during this period. Finally, New York was the premiere colonial trading partner for Ireland. The combination of these factors would have resulted in a heightened flow of coppers into New York.

Unfolding events in New York can be gleaned from two events:

- (1) an advertisement in a local newspaper, and
- (2) legislative action to control the importation of copper coins into the colony.

Advertisements of the era commonly stated that merchants would accept payment in current money. This referenced their open willingness to accept as payment coins that were in general circulation, which would have meant copper and bullion. Notably, the following announcement appeared in the *New York Gazette* of March 28, 1737, and was repeated several times thereafter:

Copper Money will not be received as the discharge of Bonds.⁴⁹

By itself, said announcement could be interpreted to mean several things. However, at the time of this announcement, there was a growing concern among New York merchants that the recent arrival of increasingly large quantities of copper coins from abroad would be unsettling to the local economy. The general view of the New York Assembly was that this development would have the effect of:

Reduceing (*sic*) of the present rate at which Copper money doth pass as aforesaid might prove a vast loss especially to Tradesmen Labouring People and Farmers who are possessed of a large Share thereof...^{.50}

At worse, the infusion had the potential to disrupt the current acceptance of coppers as a medium of exchange. This would have included those coins only recently introduced into the colony, which by inference would have been Wood's coppers.⁵¹

The infusion was large enough for the New York Lieutenant-Governor to remark to England's Lords of Trade that ship captains upon their return from abroad were importing significant quantities of coppers since the exchange rate at that time placed a premium of twice the stated face value on imported coppers.⁵² And, if the coppers were Irish there was an added premium since such coins were worth less than English coins as per terms of the exchange rate between those two countries. This distinction, however, was not recognized in the colonies.

The concern was deemed important enough for Adolph Philipse as a member of the colonial Assembly from New York City to propose the enactment of a law to regulate the importation of copper coins. The Abstract of this legislation outlines the problem in New York wherein it stated:

Copper Half-Pence & Farthings have been from Time to Time imported into this Colony, which have been and are paid and received in the Markets and other Payments, by the common Consent of the People, at a higher Rate than their intrinsick (*sic*) Value. And whereas by the Conveniency of such Copper Money passing in small Payments, the Importation of the same is still continued; but at the Rate at which the said Copper Money has been and still is admitted to Pass, as aforesaid, hath occasioned so large an Importation thereof, that what was a Conveniency at first may in Time prove otherwise, if no Remedy be applied...⁵³

The language of the bill, entitled: "An Act to prevent the further importation of Copper Money into this Colony," starts off by mentioning its concern with the importation of English coppers. It should be noted that between 1734 and 1736 the London Mint produced as many coppers in those few years as it had made for the entire reign of George I (1714-1727). This large injection of regal farthings and halfpence within such a brief period would have created a temporary excess in the number of coins that the English economy could readily accommodate. As already noted, a number of said coppers were shipped to Ireland. Others in all probability constituted part of the 1737 infusion of coppers into the Mid-Atlantic colonies. But, it is obvious from the text of the new Act that English coppers were not the only coins under discussion. As the text of the Act continued, its broader intent becomes clear and it encompassed Wood's Hibernia coins by stating that the new regulation applied to:

all Copper Halfpence, Farthings, and all other Copper Money whatsoever...⁵⁴

This new regulatory Act highlighted the great concern that was present in New York in 1737 as a result of the importation of a large number of copper coins. The new law contained the following provisions:

- (1) no person entering New York on any vessel shall import copper coins in excess of ten Shillings current money of the colony,
- (2) in order to encourage informers, they would receive upon condemnation of such copper money one-third part thereof, and
- (3) if the vessel's Master failed or refused to notify the Port Collector of the importation of copper coins, he would forfeit all copper money seized and pay a fine of £50 current money of the colony.⁵⁵

It is doubtful that the attempt to regulate the importation of copper coins was effective. Although vague in its wording, enforcement would have rested with the Vice Admiralty Court. Unfortunately,

the administration of the court at that time was in disarray due to the death of its chief justice. In fact, the court was mainly in recess and the few cases that it reviewed were adjourned.⁵⁶ To date, I have been unable to locate any case wherein coppers were confiscated as a result of the law referenced herein.

It is as problematic to ascertain the quantity of Wood's coppers that were imported into the colonies as it is to discern the nature of their distribution and circulation. This problem is made difficult because the written record is most limited in its reporting of events surrounding base metal coins. Also, found coin hoards, although insightful, are not definitive because hoarders generally do not use copper coins given that they are bulky, do not wear well in the ground and deteriorate in damp places. Yet, there are many instances of found copper coins.

Philip L. Mossman in his article entitled "The Circulation of Irish Coinage in Pre-Federal America," outlined a compilation of recovered Wood's coppers. Of particular note was the find at Pemaquid Maine where of the 83 coins recovered 18 were Wood's coppers. This site is especially noteworthy because it was a frontier region of Massachusetts where 50 Irish families had immigrated to in the early 1730s.⁵⁷ This hoard of coins supports the thesis herein that Irish immigrants, in coming to the American colonies, brought with them coins then current in Ireland, including Wood's Money.

Another notable instance is the recovery of 43 copper coins in southern New Jersey. Todd Gredesky in his article entitled "More on the Circulation of English and Irish Coppers: Small Change Coppers found in Southern New Jersey" related the find of a Wood's farthing and the viewing of an additional three Wood's halfpence.⁵⁸ This information references an area of the Mid-Atlantic Colonies that witnessed an inflow of Irish immigrants during the late 1720s and 1730s. Also located in the Philadelphia region were three Wood's coppers identified as part of the Pennsylvania Highway Find.⁵⁹ Although one can debate the interpretation of this discovery, its occurrence is worthy of note.

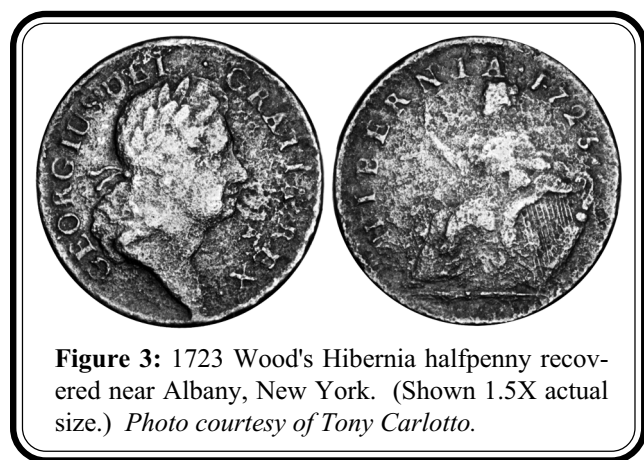


Figure 3: 1723 Wood's Hibernia halfpenny recovered near Albany, New York. (Shown 1.5X actual size.) *Photo courtesy of Tony Carlotto.*

Finally, recent discoveries come from two archeological sites in Albany, New York, that are still in the first stage of examination and hold promise for more coin recovery information. The sites are by themselves interesting given that one was at the eastern gate to the Albany stockade where a colonial ferry operated for transporting passengers across the Hudson River. Here, the recovery of a Wood's halfpenny lay within the context of four identifiable English coppers from the period of 1735 to 1745. The other discovery came from a residential area estab-

lished on the northern side of the Albany stockade. Here, a Wood's halfpenny was recovered within the context of nine other identifiable copper coins, being a Dutch half-duit bearing the date of 16--, a Spanish copper without a visible date, five English halfpence from the period of George II, and an English farthing dated 1749. Combined, these recoveries create a comparative context and relationship between Wood's and English coppers during the American colonial period. Although the sample is indeed small, it supports the thesis presented herein.⁶⁰

To date, Mossman has compiled a documented inventory of 103 recovered Wood's Hibernia coins, being 96 halfpence and seven farthings.⁶¹ The distribution of recovered Wood's Hibernias

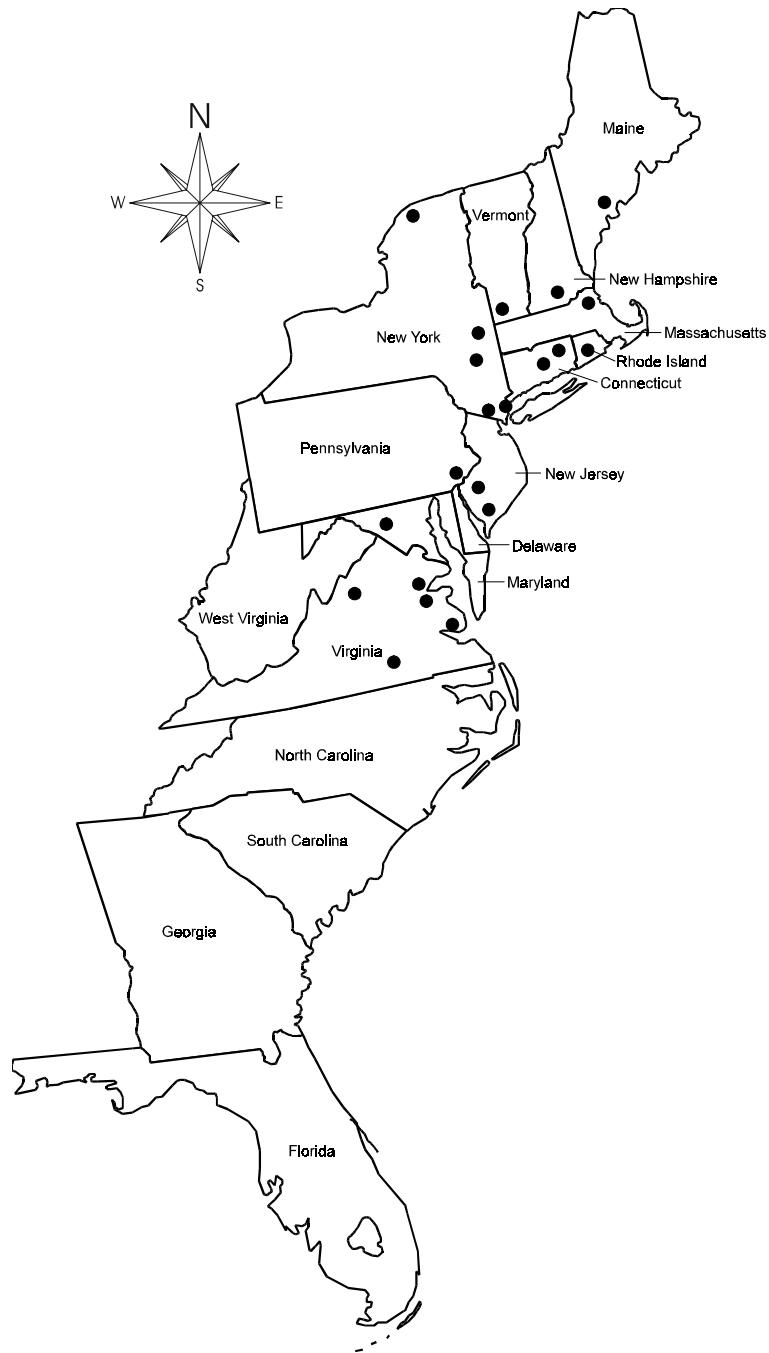


Figure 4: East coast map showing the geographic location of recovered Wood's Hibernia coppers. *Courtesy of Philip L. Mossman.*

is outlined on the above map. While this list is small in comparison to coin recoveries for Connecticut and New Jersey coppers, it is more meaningful in relation to general discoveries of copper coins that predate the American Revolution. Further, it needs to be noted that one can see recovered Wood's coppers at most large coin shows. They are basically identifiable by their

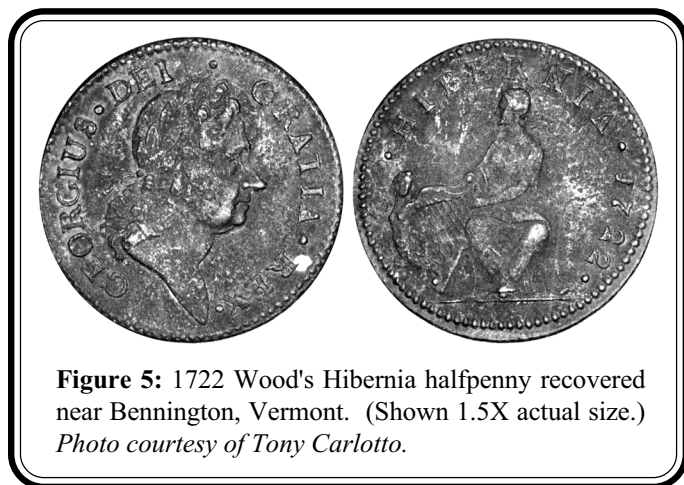


Figure 5: 1722 Wood's Hibernia halfpenny recovered near Bennington, Vermont. (Shown 1.5X actual size.)
Photo courtesy of Tony Carlotto.

condition. Unfortunately, said coins almost always lack references as to place of recovery and context. This deficit results from the absence of interest in recovered coins prior to current data collecting. The best hope for improving this situation is for interested parties to associate themselves with people who are in the field of coin recovery, which would result in documenting additional coin finds. The author has recently established such a relationship, resulting in the location of two Wood's Hibernia halfpence. One represents a newly

discovered location, being the first reported recovery of Wood's Money in Vermont, recently added to Mossman's documented inventory shown above.⁶²

The findings related herein outline the contention of this paper that Wood's Hibernia coinage played a significant role in the American colonial monetary system. As coppers, they were needed and used to facilitate daily transactions, serving the needs of the "Common Man."

CONCLUSION

Overall, after evaluating the historical record, it is clear that several key assumptions outlined in current numismatic literature are in need of revision:


- (1) Wood's Money was not rejected in Ireland in the 1720s, rather it was accepted and circulated to 1737 in large quantities, especially in rural areas that experienced an acute shortage of coins for daily needs,
- (2) Swift and other opponents in decrying the use of Wood's coins in Ireland left behind them a most self-serving historical record that erroneously conveys the impression that Wood's coins were rejected by the Irish,
- (3) the prevailing assumption given in numismatic literature that Wood's Money was exported to the American colonies during the 1722-1724 era of controversy is premature and needs to be restated as the mid-1730s,
- (4) Wood's coppers arrived in America, primarily in the Mid-Atlantic colonies, as a result of three factors:
 - (a) as a minor byproduct of transactions in Ireland that stemmed either from seamen visiting local taverns and markets or from acquiring coppers for profit, taking advantage of the favorable exchange rates that placed a premium on coppers in the colonies,
 - (b) as a more significant result of immigration from Ireland during dire times such as the famine of the late 1720s or the economic dislocations of the mid-1730s that impacted most heavily on the rural lower class that was the main user of Wood's coppers, and
 - (c) as a primary result of the 1737 release into circulation of the new Irish regal copper coins combined with the change in the Crown's policy toward the use of Wood's Money, thereby lessening the value and usefulness of his coins in Ireland,
- (5) Wood's Money along with English coppers arrived in vast quantities in the Mid-Atlantic colonies in the mid-1730s, and this event was significant enough to necessitate the

passage of a regulatory law in New York and the consideration of printing small denominational paper notes in Pennsylvania as a means to control the matter, and
(6) current research on Wood's Money is unearthing a number of coin finds, including a limited sample of coins within an archeological context, that supports the thesis that Wood's Hibernia coins circulated during the colonial era.

This paper does not purport to be the definitive answer to questions concerning the role of Wood's coppers in the colonial economy. Additional research is necessary, especially as it pertains to the recovery of copper coins. Here, the context of such finds can play a defining role in the relationship between Wood's coins and other coppers of the period, as well as outline the circulation patterns for said coins.

This paper does postulate that there is enough current evidence to revise statements often mentioned in numismatic writings that question the important role that Wood's Hibernia coppers played in the American colonial monetary system. In fact, we can now readily assume that Wood's coins served a notable role in the colonies as to daily transactions.

Given the demise of Wood's Money in Ireland in the mid-1730s, these Irish coins are comparable to St. Patrick coppers. Having outlived their usefulness in their host country, they were exported to the coin starved American colonies where they found a renewed value. The questions to be formulated henceforth should focus on extrapolating the quantities imported and distribution patterns.

Now is the time to elevate the significance of Wood's Hibernia coinage to the status it deserves as an important American colonial copper coin for the era's "Common Man." 

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3. George Ewing, *A Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland In their unanimous Refusal of Mr. Wood's Copper-Money* (Dublin, 1724), p. 12.
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7. *Dublin Courant*, August 22, 1724.

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8. Brian J. Danforth, "Wood's Money: Acceptance or Rejection in Ireland" *The C4 Newsletter* (Fall, 2000), pp. 25-29.
9. Jonathan Swift, *Advice to the Roman Catholics of Ireland concerning Wood's Halfpence* (Dublin, 1724), pp. 4-5.
10. Ewing, op. cit., pp. 38-39; Jonathan Swift, *The Soldier's Plea: against Receiving Mr. Wood's Brass-Money* (Dublin, 1724), p. 3.
11. James Maculla, *A Letter to the People of Ireland, Relating to the Copper Half-Pence, Coining in Dublin* (Dublin, 1729), p. 6.
12. Defoe, op. cit., pp. 32, 35.
13. Jonathan Swift, *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (Dublin, 1727), p. 7.
14. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), July 28, 1737.
15. *Boston Gazette*, December 1, 1735.
16. *Boston News-Letter*, October 3, 1723.
17. *Boston Gazette*, December 16, 1723.
18. Ibid. Of Boston newspapers, the *New-England Courant* appears as the more strident in reporting the Wood's controversy. However, its reasoning is open to interpretation. Was it based upon an anti-Wood's Money bias, or was it more in keeping with the colony's anti-Irish sentiments. The latter may have been the case given its statement on June 19, 1725 that such reporting "may not be disagreeable to the Taste of our English Readers." As compared to whom – the Irish?
19. E.B. O'Callaghan (ed.), *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1853), pp. iii, 232-34.
20. Ibid. pp. v, 461.
21. Thomas Prior, *Observations on Coin in General with some Proposals for Regulating the Value of Coin in Ireland* (Dublin, 1729), p. 42.
22. Defoe, op. cit., pp. 32, 35.
23. *New York Gazette* (New York), November 3, 1729.
24. *New York Gazette*, July 7, 1729.
25. *New York Gazette*, September 1, 1729.
26. *New York Gazette*, June 24, 1728.
27. *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), August 14, 1736.
28. *South Carolina Gazette*, October 23, 1736.

29. *New York Gazette*, March 17, 1729 and April 7, 1729; Isaac Broadloom, *The Hue and Cry of the Poor of Ireland for Small Change* (Dublin, 1731), pp. 2-3; Prior, op. cit., pp. 1-2. In Thomas Prior, *A List of the Absentees of Ireland and the Yearly Value of their Estates and Incomes spent abroad* (Dublin, 1730), p. 20, it is claimed "that there is less Species now in the Kingdom, than was at any one Time since the Revolution" some 40 years earlier. Boulter, op. cit., pp. ii, 201-202. Boulter listed the premium as four-pence for every twenty shillings in silver.

30. W.J. Davis, *The Nineteenth Century Token Coinage of Great Britain Ireland The Channel Islands and the Isle of Man* (London, 1969), pp. 229-37.

31. Ibid.

32. *New York Gazette*, July 28, 1729.

33. Ibid.

34. *New York Gazette*, October 20, 1729. In this article, I do not make a distinction between southern and northern Irish immigrants although the latter is often referenced as being Scotch-Irish.

35. *New England Courant* (Boston), January 4, 1725.

36. Albert B. Hart (ed.), *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts* (New York, 1928), pp. ii, 258-59 and iv, 143.

37. Philip L. Mossman, "The Circulation of Irish Coinage in Pre-Federal America" *The Colonial Newsletter* (April, 1999), p. 1910.

38. C. E. Challis, *A New History of the Royal Mint* (Cambridge: England, 1992), p. 438; Rogers Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Britain and its Dependencies* (London, 1819), pp. iv, 10.

39. Boulter, op. cit., pp. 171-72; Ruding, op. cit., iv, 16. The consideration to ship English coins to Ireland in order to address the mounting scarcity of coppers was under review by London authorities by at least 1733 as reported in the *South-Carolina Gazette* on June 9, 1733.

40. James Maculla, *King George and his Ancestors Parliamentary Grants to the People of Ireland* (Dublin, 1725), p. 12; *Dublin News-Letter*, May 7, 1737.

41. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), March 24, 1737.

42. *New York Gazette*, January 9, 1738.

43. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (Gloucester: Massachusetts, 1966), pp. 4-5. It can be assumed that said coins of William III were English since both regal and counterfeit halfpence of that monarch have been recovered in America and also because Irish coppers of William III are quite rare and none have been reported here yet.

44. Sylvester S. Crosby, *The Early Coins of America: and the Laws Governing Their Issue* (Reprint: New York, 1983), p. 339.

45. *Virginia Gazette*, September 17, 1736.

46. *Boston Gazette*, January 31, 1737 and May 9, 1737; Eric P. Newman, *The Early Paper Money of America* (Iola: Wisconsin, 1990), pp. 169, 172. It should be noted that Walter Breen in his encyclopedia on American coins stated that the 1722 paper issue by Massachusetts of small denominational notes was a response to the unwanted introduction of Wood's Rosa Americana coins.

47. *Boston News-Letter*, December 7, 1738; Crosby, op. cit., pp. 324-28.

48. *New York Gazette*, July 4, 1737.

49. *New York Gazette*, March 28, 1737.

50. New York State, *The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution* (New York, 1894), pp. ii, 962-963.

51. Ibid., *New York Gazette or Weekly Post-Boy* (Boston), December 3, 1753.

52. John R. Brodhead (ed.), *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1855), pp. vi, 117.

53. *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York* (New York: General Assembly, 1764), November 7, 1737.

54. *New York Gazette*, July 3, 1738; Challis, op. cit., pp. 379, 435; Broadloom, op. cit., p. 6.

55. *New York Gazette*, January 9, 1738.

56. Charles M. Rough, *Reports of the Cases in the Vice Admiralty of the Province of New York* (New Haven, 1925), xxiii. It would have been difficult to regulate the importation of copper coins. As noted in May 24, 1753 in the *Independent Refector* (Boston) during a period of concern with the inflow of counterfeit coppers, the Bay Colony considered passing a regulatory law. However, it was felt that it would be to "little avail: For, while it is attended with so great a Profit, there always will be Persons who, more influenced by lucrative Motives than Affection for their Country, will venture to import them in Defiance of Law."

57. Mossman, op. cit., pp. 1909-12.

58. Todd Gredesky, "More on the Circulation of English and Irish Coppers: Small Change Coppers found in Southern New Jersey *The Colonial Newsletter* (April, 2000), p. 2063.

59. Mossman, op. cit., p. 1911.

60. Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. This firm conducted the archeological dig and analysis of historical artifacts at the two referenced Albany sites. They graciously allowed me to review at their lab all coins that have been recovered to date.

61. Personal communication, Philip L. Mossman, June 20, 2000.

62. See for reference *The Colonial Newsletter* (April, 2000), p. 2064; Personal communication, Philip L. Mossman, November 15, 2000.

The Old Newburgh-Cocheton Turnpike Coin Find

by

John Lorenzo; Midland Park, NJ

Introduction

From the early 1600s, when the settlements were first established in Virginia and Massachusetts, until the opening of the first United States Mint in Philadelphia in 1792, the circulating currency of British North America consisted primarily of Spanish American silver together with a variety of other English, Portuguese, and French specie coins. With the notable exception of Massachusetts silver and a few miscellaneous copper tokens, there was no domestic coinage of any significance until 1785. To supply the local small change medium, a variety of copper tokens and English and Irish regal and counterfeit halfpence were imported to fill the need. Due to the shortage of low denominational coins, about anything would circulate among the currency-starved colonists. Examples of these early coins are frequently uncovered in contemporaneous hoards, found in archeological sites, or recovered by metal detectionists.

A recent article in *The Colonial Newsletter*¹ describes a lot of 43 colonial coppers recovered in southern New Jersey by a metal detection enthusiast. Within this coin find were William and Mary, George II, and George III halfpennies, and a George II and a William Wood's Hibernia farthing. This census was not surprising since these coins are representative of other finds. Trudgen recently reported a hoard of 14 coppers found in a barn in Danielson, CT, primarily Connecticut coppers with two counterfeit George III halfpence, a 1785 Nova Constellatio, and a 1723 Hibernia halfpenny.² The subject of this current report is a group of early coins uncovered by a metal detectionist near Newburgh, New York. Like the New Jersey find, this current find also show signs of being heavily corroded which excludes any chance of this group being a recent deposit. All examples varied in terms of their numismatic preservation level. As with the southern New Jersey find and other similar colonial hoards, all the George III British halfpence were contemporary counterfeits.

The Find Site

This find was uncovered by a New Jersey resident, who, with his family since the 1970s, has frequented a 15,000 acre tract in New York State which is now the Ten Mile River (TMR) Scout reservation currently owned by the Greater New York Council of Boy Scouts. The reservation encompasses a massacre site, early settler dwellings, mill sites, old foundation holes, parts of original colonial roads, still unpaved, many lakes, and a section of the Delaware River and other streams. It is also the site of Indian Cliffs, an area of rock shelters that have been excavated by one of the New York City museums. The family, with permission, has explored this location over a 30 year period with metal detectors during which time they have assembled this lot of early American coinage. The find location is isolated to an area approximately 50 miles west of Newburgh, New York. Incredibly all the colonial coins were located in one small parcel whereas all the Federal money, such as U.S. Large Cents, were found within an adjacent site, indicative of two separate occurrences in neighboring parcels during two different time periods. Due to the fact that all the specimens were scattered and found over a span of years, this may not be considered a hoard by some, but rather an archaeological find of early American coins within this

¹ "More on the Circulation of English and Irish Coppers," *CNL*, pp. 2063-64.

² Gary Trudgen, "Danielson, CT Hoard," *CNL*, pp. 2067-68.

one small geographical region. Some specimens from this find already reside in the Ten-Mile River Boy Scout Museum in this area of New York State.

In all, an accumulation of over 250 colonial period artifacts have been recovered, including early coins and large cents of the 1794-1807 era. The finder, Russell Hannah, conferred with the museum curator, Irwin Sussman, at the Ten Mile River Scout Reservation (TMR) and the Director of Camping for the Greater Council of Boy Scouts, who mutually agreed that there was no need to maintain secrecy as to the location since the site is posted and patrolled, and entrance is by permit only. By making public the information about site, it would lend greater credibility to the recovered coins and artifacts.

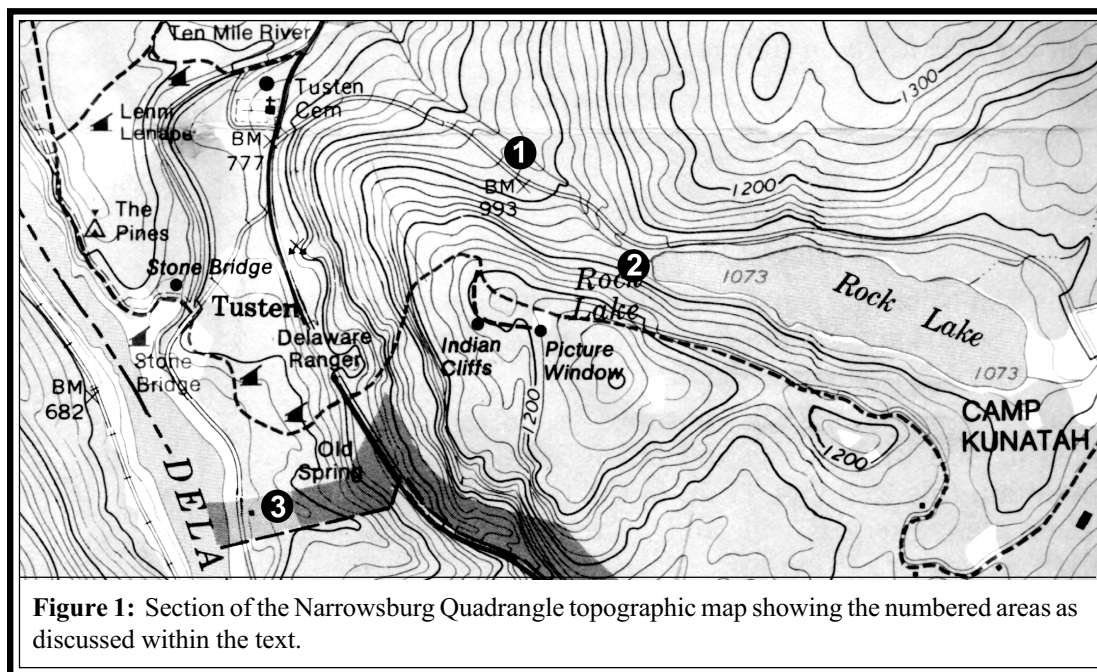
The Hannahs started hunting this area with their detectors with TMR's permission around 1970. Shortly thereafter, they happened upon a site at the outlet of Rock Lake within the TMR. At this site, as they were metal detecting for pleasure, looking for lost items by scouts such as modern coins and camping artifacts, Florence Hannah summoned her husband to look at something she had found. It was an old coin dated 1757. The Hannahs thought initially it was English, and finding something that old in the ground, they concentrated their efforts in this area. It was fitting that the first coin they found was an imported British contemporary counterfeit halfpenny which made such an important contribution to the colonial economy of this time by supplying the settlers with much needed small change for everyday transactions.

Over the next 30 years of intensive detecting at the site, the Hannahs found many items of interest other than coins, such as numerous old-style metal buttons in various sizes, many different types of old bullets, a shoe buckle, parts of three-legged iron pots, a few colonial-type eating utensils, a colonial knife, and dozens of assorted nails with different types of head styles. Many of the nails came out of the ground black in color without a speck of rust. One interesting finding was the large number of various sized oxshoes, but not one horseshoe! At first, the Hannahs were not familiar with these half shoes until Russ Hannah's father offered an explanation; finding a large number of oxshoes in one area clearly indicated a location where much heavy hauling had once been done. The terrain was not fit for farming and there was evidence of timber having been cut from one side of the mountain. It was learned that in former years, trees had been harvested and slid down the mountain into the lake via man-made chutes that are still visible. Then, at the big eddy on the Delaware River the logs were assembled into rafts to be sent down the river with the spring flood.

The Hannahs indicated to me that one of the frustrations about the site was the amount of earth movement, by bulldozers or other equipment, that had taken place. Many of the coins were under rocks or in between layers of rock. It was their belief that the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) stationed here had once moved quantities of earth and rock to make a safe camping area for the Scouts. The history of TMR states that the CCC was responsible in a large part for making TMR the great scout reservation it is today and certainly the top one in New York State. They constructed roads, built campsites and made swimming areas at the various lakes. Since the CCC was one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's pet projects, he ensured TMR was developed properly, so that it could successfully promote scouting.

Another interesting aspect to the coins recovered was the date disparity among them. The modern coins, that prompted the whole search, ranged from a 1895 Barber dime to present day issues. Whereas those current coins, along with two or three odd Large Cents, were found scattered throughout the TMR, all those within the older site were dated before 1817. Russ Hannah believes the reason for this pattern of recovery is explained by a large Sullivan County map of 1856, viewed in the county's clerk office in Monticello. On this map, the present day Rock Lake, known then as Canfield Pond, was located in the township of Tusten which, in 1800, was part of Lumberland.

Since on the 1856 map, no dwellings or other buildings were indicated, the area had most likely been abandoned by its inhabitants after the 1820s when all the good local timber had been harvested and the turnpike completed.



Within Figure 1, the road marked as Area 1 was part of the original Newburgh-Cochecton Turnpike which was started before 1810 and connected the Delaware and Hudson Rivers as a means of wagon travel. While two or three U.S. Large Cent pieces were located randomly in other parts of the reservation, the concentration of a dozen early date Large Cents was found within Area 1 on the western border area of Rock Lake. Adjacent to that location, the 24 colonial coins were unearthed. This area, marked in the Narrowsburg Quadrangle map as Area 2, is approximately 150 yards long by 50 yards wide, and overlooks the lake. There is indication that some type of building once stood on the hill near the lake. About 250 feet from this location there are the partially bulldozed remains of a foundation, as previously recounted. The coins found within Area 2 were scattered and, from the patina on some of the coins, there is evidence of there having been a fire. Area 3 is a very large and quiet eddy below where Ten Mile River enters the Delaware. A store, operated by the Hankins family in the early 1800s, once stood within Area 3. There may have been some type of rude inn on the site to support the early drovers who used the turnpike and then transported the logs down the Delaware.

While many of these coins are on exhibit at the newly established Ten Mile River Scout Museum, about six of the recovered coins were presented over the years to some scout rangers of the Ten Mile River Scout Reservation and are untraceable. The Hannahs estimate that based on their experience about 25 other coins have been found by other individuals using detectors in the area. The important point about this find is that the coins are a representative sampling of coins used in this region during the colonial period and shortly after our first mint was started in Philadelphia in 1792.

Specimen Listing

All specimens in this listing are graded on technical sharpness and not net grading. Also, all coin images are shown 1.5X actual size.

I. Regal and Counterfeit English Coppers

[1] George I 1722 halfpenny. [27.04 mm, 121.9 grains] A regal English issue with a preservation sharpness grade of Good. The earliest dated coin in this find circulated heavily prior to its burial.



[2] 1733 Regal George II halfpenny. [30.14 mm, 140.4 grains] Typical regal issue with good weight and size for the denomination. Slightly light from the typical average of the 152.2 grain standard due to wear from circulation; it has the technical sharpness of a Very Good specimen.

[3] Dateless George II contemporary cast counterfeit halfpenny. ? Old bust. Typical short end ribbons type design observed on 1750 George II cast counterfeits.



[4] 17?? Partial date George II contemporary cast counterfeit Irish halfpenny on an irregular flan. [26.46 mm horizontally, 26.58 mm vertically, 98.8 grains] Sharpness of Very Fine.

[5] A very worn imported British contemporary counterfeit with fimbriated crossbars. The obverse is worn smooth and the reverse has a partial Britannia. [27.9 mm, 100.3 grains] Technically an AG/G specimen based on sharpness. (The presence of fimbriated crossbars on the reverse shield is one of the distinguishing characteristics that separates English-made counterfeit halfpence from Machin's Mills imitation halfpence.)

[6] 17?? Partial date George III contemporary counterfeit with fimbriated crossbars. [28.2 mm, 103.4 grains] Very porous specimen with a technical sharpness of Very Fine.

[7] 1774 George III contemporary counterfeit with fimbriated crossbars. [27.16 mm, 101.9 grains] Nice full date with the typically seen J letter as a 1 in the date 1774. Technical sharpness of a Very Good specimen.

[8] Dateless George III contemporary counterfeit halfpenny with fimbriated crossbars. struck on an irregular sized flan. [28.54 mm vertically and 28.5 mm horizontally] A small rim clip is present at four-o'clock and, therefore, its weight is irrelevant. The specimen has fimbriated crossbars.



[9] 1775 George III contemporary counterfeit halfpenny with fimbriated crossbars. [27.38 mm, 103.4 grains]



[10] 1775 George III contemporary counterfeit halfpenny. [26.84 mm, 92.6 grains] Fimbriated crossbars.

[11] Dateless George III contemporary counterfeit Irish halfpenny. [27.42 mm, 69.4 grains, 1.1 mm thick] A very thin planchet almost having the weight of a farthing. The reverse is an Irish harp design. Irish issues are, in general, rarer than their English counterparts.

[12] Very worn farthing-sized specimen. Possibly a George III issue based on some trace motifs. [24.16 mm, 55.6 grains]

[13] An unattributable copper blank at 27.9 mm and 100.3 grains. Probably an English or Irish contemporary counterfeit.

Note: Despite the geographical proximity to Newburgh, none of the preceding coppers are of Machin's Mills origin.

II. State Coppers



[14] Vermont Copper. Ryder-13. [27.7 mm, 97.2 grains] Weight irrelevant due to a rim clip at five o'clock; technical sharpness of Extremely Fine with typical weak reverse die. The only specimen in the find showing a possible connection to the Machin's Mills operation due to reverse die linkage.



[15] Vermont Copper. Ryder-19. Rarity-5. One of the finest known. Extremely Fine sharpness with some very light verdigris with no weight reduction based on its burial! Obverse has N a bit farther away from O than the other letters. On the reverse, the L is a little higher than IB. [27.48 mm, 112.6 grains] The rarest and most desirable specimen found in the find. A museum quality Vermont copper.

[16] New Jersey Copper. Maris 61-p. Rarity-5. [30.4 mm, 143.5 grains] Morristown Mint. The obverse displays large plow handles of almost equal length. The plow beam ending opposite of A in CAESAREA with sprigs below and shield on the reverse. The error reverse with PLURIBS instead of PLURIBUS. Technical sharpness of a Very Fine specimen. The rarest of the three New Jersey Coppers in the find.

[17] New Jersey Copper. Maris 67-v. Morristown Mint. [28.54 mm, 138.9 grains] Technical sharpness of Very Fine with the deeply cut reverse die showing all the shield lines very strong even in Very Good examples. A variety which may be overgraded due to this effect and should be graded by the obverse details.



[18] New Jersey Copper. Maris 16-L. Rahway Mint. [27.66 mm, 132.7 grains] Technical sharpness of a VF/XF specimen. A mid to late die state Maris 16-L with the rim cud at RE of CAESAREA.



[19] 1787 Bust Left Connecticut Copper. A double error Connecticut copper struck approximately 10% off-center to twelve o'clock and with a mint clip. Due to the clip error, metrological measurements are not applicable. Struck medal turn.

[20] 1787 Draped Bust Left Connecticut. Miller 16.1-m. [28.5 mm, 151.2 grains] Bottom of the date on the flan complete and the last numeral is weak. Technical sharpness of an XF specimen.



[21] 1787 Mailed Bust Left Connecticut. Miller 14-H. [27.84 mm, 128.1 grains] Nice Connecticut type, essentially free of any planchet flaws which is unusual for this Miller die marriage.

[22] Dateless and extremely worn Connecticut Copper. Technical sharpness of AG. Metrological measurements not applicable due to very worn state.

III. Early Federal Coppers

[23] 1794 Liberty Cap Large Cent. [28.08 mm, 191.4 grains] Due to the severe reverse corrosion a Sheldon attribution was not possible. Letter edging was present and readable. Technical sharpness of Fine for the issue.

[24] Dateless Liberty Cap Large Cent. [28.12 mm, 134.2 grains] Obverse portrait identifiable but dateless due to excessive wear. Specimen has serious pitting throughout due to its burial.

[25] Dateless Early Date Large Cent. Obverse worn smooth with the reverse of the early date 1796-1798 Draped Bust type. [28.1 mm, 131.2 grains] Technical sharpness of AG which also accounts for its low weight.

[26] 1798 Draped Bust Large Cent. Sheldon-179. The high '98' variety. [28.5 mm, 146.6 grains] Technical sharpness of Very Fine. A nice representative example of this popular 1798 large cent.

[27] 1798 Draped Bust Large Cent. Too much verdigris for a positive Sheldon attribution. [28.4 mm, 158.9 grains] Technical sharpness of a Very Fine specimen.

[28] 1802 Draped Bust Large Cent. Sheldon-237. [28.68 mm, 165.1 grains] Widest date for an 1802 variety. Diagnostic very large reverse berries very clear and present. LIB close and BER distant confirms its attribution.

[29] 1807 Draped Bust Large Cent. The 'Comet' variety. Sheldon-271. [29.04 mm, 172.8 grains] A very late and pronounced linear flaw on the obverse, hence giving the name to this popular large cent variety. Technical sharpness of Extremely Fine.

[30] 1807 Half Cent which is unattributable to variety due to its wear.

[31] Half Cent. Unattributable to a variety due to its wear.

[32] Dateless Coronet type Large Cent. [31.52 mm, 149.7 grains] Coin appears flattened out as if on an oversized flan. Coin is very worn which prohibits the date to be identified.

[33] Dateless Coronet type Large Cent. Coin has been holed. Its measured weight is therefore irrelevant. [28.18 mm] The technical sharpness is Good.

[34] A virtually worn smooth copper of a large cent size. The letters of RTY within the headband are present and is representative of a U.S. Large Cent. [27.5 mm, 120.4 grains]. Possibly an early date large cent of the Turban type.

IV. Spanish Silver

[35] 1783 CAROLUS III Mexico City One Real in Fine condition. [23.1 grains] A regal issue.

[36] 1801 Ferdinand VII issue from Mexico City of a One Real. [25.9 grains] A regal issue.

V. Miscellaneous Non-Coin Items

A non-listed Albert button³ with the word ROUGH present on this struck one-piece button. We are tempted to link this button with the Zachary Taylor 1848 ROUGH AND READY series but, according to Albert, these are all predominantly two piece buttons from a later period around 1848. There is a remote possibility this may be a crudely manufactured button of the mid-19th century. Basically all the buttons found were of a non-military type. With one or two exceptions, all were of a struck one-piece type, which dates them prior to 1813, the year Alphas Albert indicates when two piece types were first made.

The nails were interesting in they were of a different design with different heads. The colonial knife was also interesting and has the shape of a modern butter knife but is 8¼ inches long and ¾ inches wide with a weight of 46.5 grams. Bullets of various sizes were also found.

Discussion

Since this find was from one specific geographical area, we can surmise that these were the circulating small change medium in that region of New York during the late 1700s / early 1800s. When compared to other such hoards, the results of this find are quite similar since this one also contains counterfeit and regal English and Irish coppers, state coppers, and Spanish silver. Nearby was a find of early American large cents. As we examine this coin find in detail, and compare it with the Southern New Jersey coin hoard, it supports the frequent observation that counterfeit halfpence of this era were found in a roughly 50:50 mix with the legitimate coppers. The latest dated coin in the hoard is a 1807 Draped Bust Large Cent although there appears to be a Coronet Large Cent (coin 33), without a discernible date, which may possibly be an 1817. All the specimens in the find are corroded with a patina and have a homogeneous appearance from being buried.


The largest colonial coin hoard to date was the Stepney Hoard,⁴ probably hidden in 1788 and found in 1950. The hoard consisted of over 200 coins including predominantly U.S. Colonial State Coppers such as Vermonts and Connecticut along with the typical contemporary counterfeit English halfpence. It is tempting to compare this find with the Stepney Hoard which was found 70 miles due east but there are significant differences since the coins in the Stepney Hoard were allegedly all found together in an iron kettle, while these were in the ground over a small area. One could speculate that these coins were once buried together and later scattered when the hiding place was destroyed by intervening bulldozers during a construction project.

This accumulation was uncovered over a period of thirty years by this one family from one general location near Newburgh, New York. Whereas the Stepney Hoard had many rare Connecticut, but only a very few common ones, it was totally lacking in New Jersey coppers. This find is different since three New Jersey coppers were found, Maris 61-p, Maris 67-v, and Maris 16-L. The four Connecticut coppers included two unattributable pieces (although one was a 1787 Bust Left), a Miller 14-H, and a Miller 16.1-m. A Vermont Ryder 13 was recovered along with a surprisingly condition census Ryder 19, the finest preserved coin in this grouping. No Nova Eboracs were seen, and among the contemporary counterfeits present, no Machin's Mills pieces were identified. Their absence is not unexpected since Nova Eboracs are rare compared to other state coppers and Machin's Mills coppers are much less frequent than the typical imported contemporary counterfeit halfpence from Birmingham.

³ Alphaeus H. Albert, *Record of American Uniform and Historical Buttons* (1974).

⁴ Philip L. Mossman, "The Stepney Hoard: Fact or Fancy?" *CNL*, pp. 1809-51. See also Q. David Bowers and Michael Hodder, *American Coin Treasures and Hoards* (Wolfeboro, NH, 1997).

Conclusion

The Hannah's coin find is significant since it is a representative sample of colonial coins and very early date U.S. Large Cents found in two different sites located within one small geographical area. It is the wish of this writer that this small collection of coins and buttons remain intact, so that future generations of collectors can appreciate a true snapshot of what types of coinage and artifacts were present in colonial times in this region, during the later part of the late 18th century and early 19th century. 

The Earl's American Colonials: Ten Honest Coins and One Fantasy

by

David D. Gladfelter; Moorestown, NJ

Thomas Herbert (1656-1733), Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, is remembered today for having assembled and beautifully documented an extensive, eclectic collection of museum quality coins. To record the contents of this collection, the Earl commissioned the Roman engraver Niccolo Francisco Haym to make intaglio copper plates illustrating most of the important pieces. Haym completed this major task during the 1720s, illustrating the obverses and reverses of a total of 3,130 coins on 306 plates grouped into 4 parts. The Earl's death delayed publication of the plates, which did not occur until 1746.

The main Pembroke collection, and the first three parts of Haym's engraved plates, consisted of ancient coins. Our interest, however, as collectors of American colonials is in the Pembroke collection's miscellany – specifically, in eleven silver and copper pieces struck and circulated during the Earl's own lifetime, all of which are shown on the plates. These are among the earliest of our American colonial coins: six pieces of Massachusetts silver, two Lord Baltimore pieces, and three base metal tokens. The illustrations of these eleven pieces are, with the exception of John Evelyn's 1697 engraving of a St. Patrick farthing, the earliest of American coins appearing in a numismatic publication.

The story of the Pembroke collection, its documentation by Haym and the eleven American colonials appearing therein was told some 40 years ago by Eric P. Newman. Newman's focus, of course, was on the fantasy piece which gave his essay its title: "The Secret of the Good Samaritan Shilling" (ANS, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, 1959). Along with Haym's illustration of this alteration, Newman reproduced his illustrations of the Earl's Oak Tree sixpence and Pine Tree shilling to show that later fabrications – the "Bushnell Shilling," the Noe 19 (Noe OC) Oak Tree 6d and the Noe PQ Pine Tree 1s varieties – believed to have been made by one Singleton circa 1850 were actually based on the Pembroke engravings!

We are not aware that Haym's illustrations of all eleven of the Earl of Pembroke's American colonials have ever been reproduced together. We present them now for the enjoyment of CNL readers – the entire Plate 14 of Part 4, captioned *Coins of the English Colonys & Settlements abroad*, on which appear eight of the colonials, plus details from Plates 11, 20 and 21, on which the remaining coins appear.

What became of these coins? The Pembroke collection remained intact for over a century after the Earl's death. It was excellently catalogued (and referenced throughout to the Haym plates) and sold at auction by S. Leigh Sotheby & Co. in 1848. The notorious Good Samaritan Shilling was bid on by one Cureton, as agent for the British Museum, together with the two Lord Baltimore pieces for 38 shillings, as Newman tells us. Cureton also captured the New England shilling, in a group lot with the Carolina Elephant Token (pierced) and James II 1/24 real for the Plantations, for 22 shillings. The Pine Tree 1s, 6d, 3d and 2d set went as a lot to one Curt for 19 shillings. Curt also obtained the St. Patrick's farthing in a group lot of Irish tokens for eleven shillings. Of these coins, the Good Samaritan shilling remained in the British Museum collection at the time of publication of Newman's monograph.

Both the Pembroke plates and the Pembroke sale catalog (even priced and named) are surprisingly inexpensive items when they make their infrequent appearances on the numismatic book market. They are well worth the purchase price, as together they form a detailed record of a collection notable for not only its miscellany. One of the Earl's prizes was his Petition Crown by Thomas Simon. That went to one Webster for £135. Another was a pattern in gold for a 6 angel piece of Edward VI, which went to "BM" (=British Museum?) for £185.

**Descriptions of the American Colonial Coins in the Pembroke Collection
from the Sotheby & Co. Auction Catalogue**

Irish Coins, Tokens, &c. chiefly in Copper

- 210 Charles I, St. Patrick's Farthing. *Rud. Supp. part 2, pl. 5,*
fig. 9 Pemb. p.4 t.20 *size 6½.*

English Colonial Coins, Chiefly in Silver

- 229 Lord Baltimore, Maryland Sixpence. *obv. + CÆCILIVS. DNS. TERRÆ.MARIA.&c., his bust to l. with long hair. rev. CRES-CITE.ET.MVLTIPPLICAMINI., crowned Arms of his Palatinate, and VI. to mark the value. Rud. xxx. 7. Pemb. p. 4, t. 14. well preserved.* *wt. 38.4 grs.*
- Lord Baltimore, Maryland Groat, same types, &c. and references, but IV. to mark the value. *well preserved, but pierced.* *wt. 16.4 grs.*
- Massachusetts Shilling, *much rubbed*, but shewing on both sides the remains of the types and legends. *By the dexterous use of a punch, some artist has contrived to produce on this rubbed coin, a worn representation of the group of the good Samaritan, and the words FAC. SIMILE., which has given rise to much discussion. see Rud. xxx, 10, and note m. page 368, vol iii, Pemb p.4, t. 14. unique* *wt. 69.8 grs. 3*
- 230 Massachusetts Shilling; *m. m. rose*, both sides. *obv. MASA-THVSETS. IN., American Pine. rev. NEW. ENGLAND. AN. DOM.; in the field, 1652. XII. Rud. xxx.9. Pemb. p. 4, t. 14. very fine.* *wt. 71.8 grs.*
- Massachusetts Sixpence, same types, &c. and references. *fine, and rare.* *wt. 35.7 grs.*
- Massachusetts Threepence, same types, &c. and references. *fine, and rare.* *wt. 18.7 grs. 4*
- Massachusetts Twopence, same types, &c. and references, but date 1662. *fine, and very rare.* *wt. 10.2 grs.*
- 231 New England Shilling. *obv. N. E. within a square stamp. rev. XII. within a similar stamp. Rud. xxx, 4. Pemb. p. 4, t. 11. see also Rud. vol. 3, page 368, note i* *wt. 68.7 grs.*
- COPPER. Carolina Halfpenny, or Penny? *obv. Elephant. rev. GOD. PRESERVE. CAROLINA. AND. THE. LORDS. PROPRIETORS. 1694., in six lines across the field; not PROPRIETERS. as in Ruding; the die having evidently been altered from E. to O. Rud. Supp. part 2, pl. viii, fig. 1. Pemb. p. 4, t. 14. pierced.* *size 8.*

Uncertain Colonial Tin Token, or Pattern

- James II. *obv. the King in armour, on horseback, to r. with titles, &c. rev. VAL. 24. PART. REAL. HISPAN., Arms of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, on four crowned shields, united by chains; the edge beaded. Snel. iv, 24, Rud. Supp. part 2, pl. vii fig. 13. Pemb. p.4, t. 21, where it is called, "Small Money for the Plantations." "Pewter with a copper cross inserted," but of which copper cross there is no trace on the coin.* *size 8. 3*

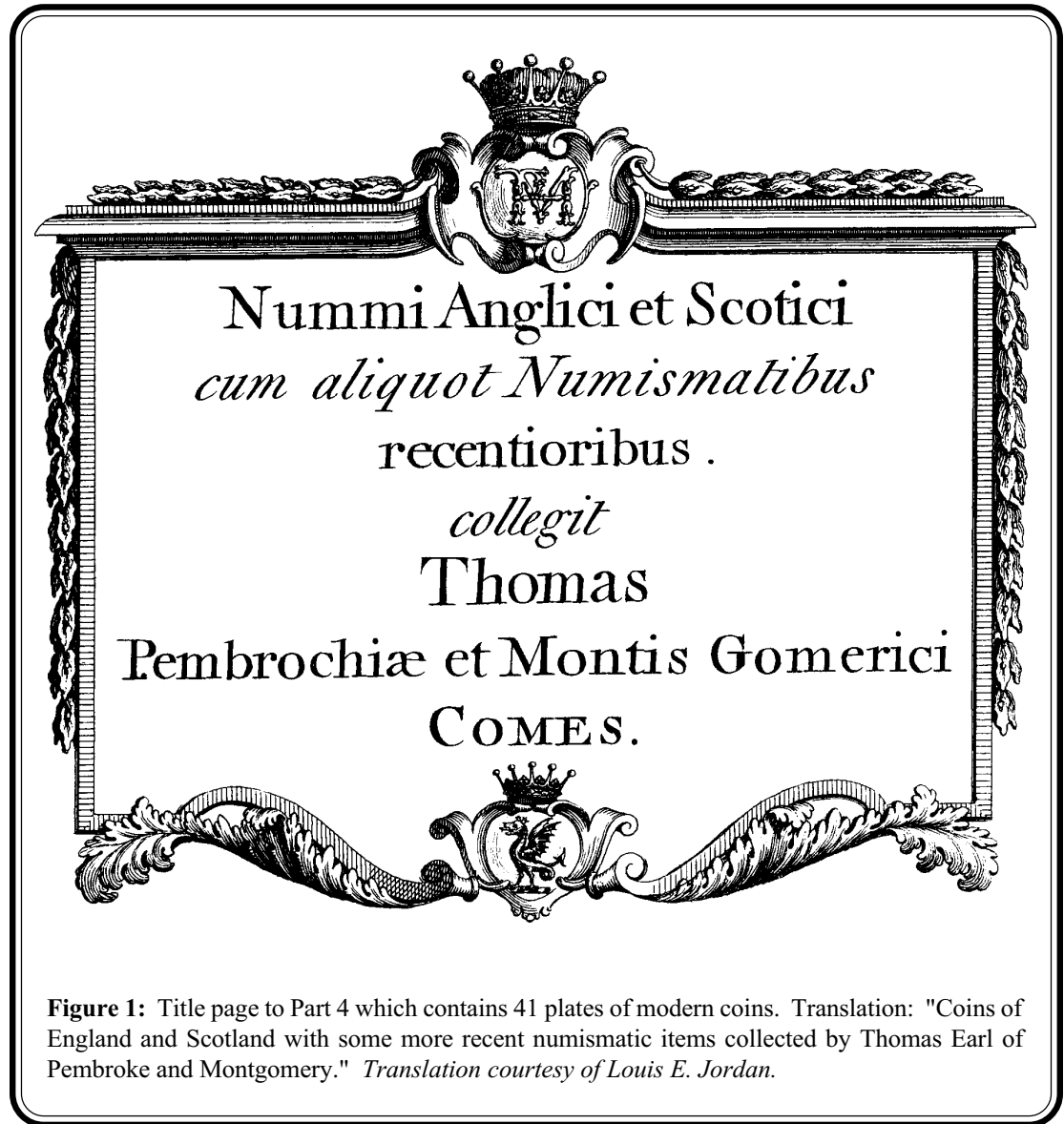


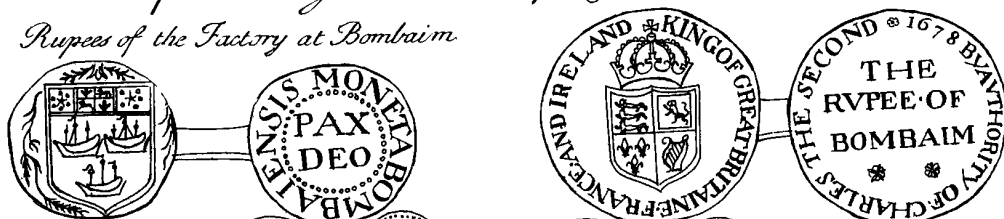
Figure 1: Title page to Part 4 which contains 41 plates of modern coins. Translation: "Coins of England and Scotland with some more recent numismatic items collected by Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery." Translation courtesy of Louis E. Jordan.



Figure 2: Plate 11 of Part 4 illustrating the New England Shilling.

Coins of the English Colonys & Settlements abroad.

Ruppes of the Factory at Bombaim



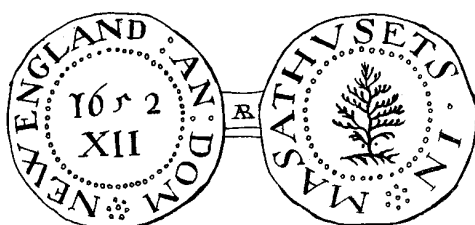
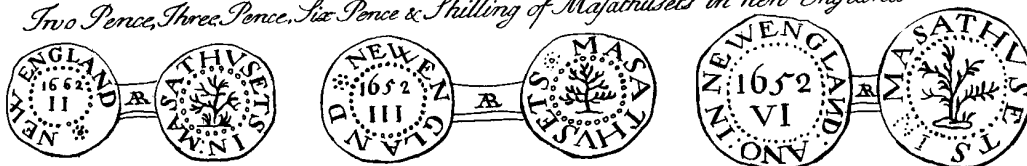
Silver Pagodas of Fort S.^t George



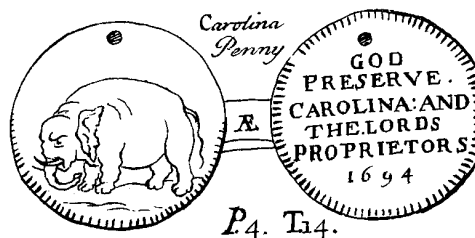
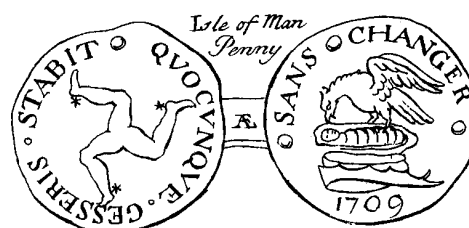
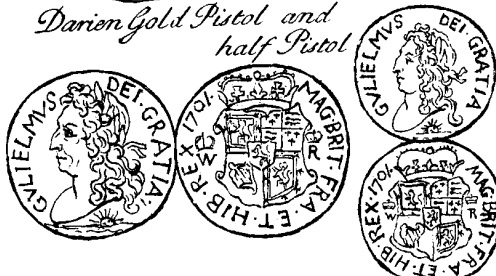
L^d Baltimores Mary Land Six Pence & Groat.



Two Pence, Three Pence, Six Pence & Shilling of Massachusetts in new England.



Danion Gold Pistol and half Pistol

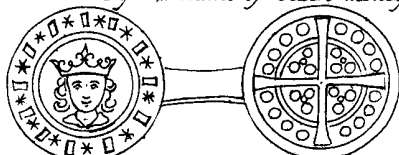


P. 4. T. 14.

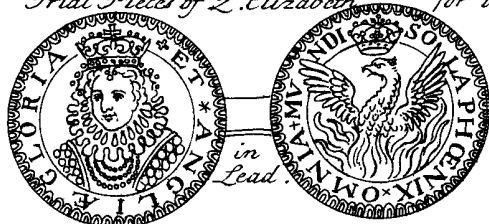
Figure 3: Plate 14 of Part 4 illustrating eight American colonial coins. They are, from top left to bottom right: Lord Baltimore Sixpence, Lord Baltimore Groat, Good Samaritan Shilling, Massachusetts Twopence, Massachusetts Threepence, Massachusetts Sixpence, Massachusetts Shilling, and Carolina Penny.

English Coins of Copper, Brass &c.

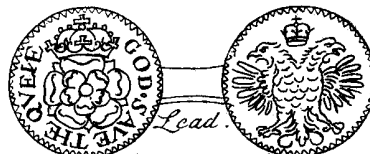
*A Copper Piece (as it seems) of Edw. III.
probably one of those coins brought from abroad
and prohibited by the name of black money: &c.*



Trial Pieces of 2. Elizabeth for brass coins designed but not published



in Lead.

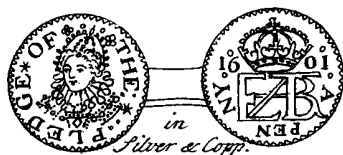
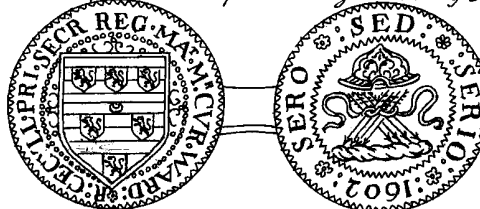


Lead.



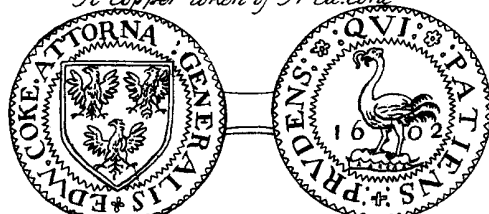
in Silver & Copper

A Copper Token of Fr. Ro. Co. Sec. Secretary St.

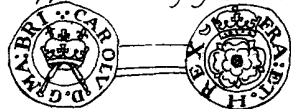


in Silver & Copper

A Copper token of Fr. Ed. Coke



Copper Farthing of Charles. I.

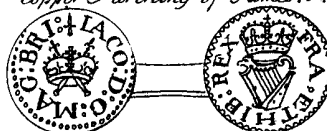


A Trial Piece for a Far.

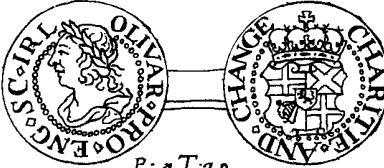


Trial Pieces for Farthings of the Common Wealth & Oliver.

Copper Farthing of James. I.

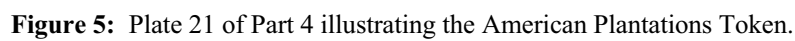


Irish Penny



P. 4. T. 10.

Figure 4: Plate 20 of Part 4 illustrating the St. Patrick's Halfpenny (Irish Penny).



The CNLF Checklist of Early American Counterfeit Halfpence Believed Struck in America

by

James C. Spilman, Editor Emeritus; Huntsville, AL

(TN-185)

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In 1964 Robert A. (Bob) Vlack published two photographic plates entitled "American 'Tory' Halfpence Struck at Machin's Mill, New York." These two plates were made up of photographs from the collections of Eric P. Newman, Robert A. Vlack and Edward R. Barnsley, plus – possibly – one or two others. Although dimmed by the shadows of numismatic history, the attribution of these various specimens to an American mint, and specifically to the mint of Thomas Machin, was first suggested in 1886 by C. Wyllie Betts in his address to the American Numismatic & Archaeological Society (ANS) on this subject (See CNL-60, June 1981, "The Annotated Betts"). Betts' attribution was later expanded upon by Howard Kurth in the 1940s and even further by Walter Breen and Eric Newman in the 1950s. Bob's die variety designations carried a simple number-letter designation, i.e. 4-D.

Ten years later, in 1974, Bob published two more plates showing eleven additional die variety combinations. These two plates were entitled "Early English Counterfeit Halfpence Struck in America." The attribution to Machin's Mills was no longer carried in the title and Bob had developed a new numbering scheme for the die varieties based on the year date on the reverse of each combination. In the case above, 4-D became 3-71B.

Since that time – in 1974 – four more die variety combinations have been discovered and given the appropriate designations. The die variety designations are detailed on the following checklist under their appropriate columns, 1964, 1974 and "Later Discoveries."

Rarity estimates, as well, have changed over time. The current rarity as revised by Ed Sarraffian is presented in the year 2001 rarity column. All rarity values are based on the Sheldon Scale.

Over the years these counterfeit British halfpence specimens have been known by a number of names, including Tory Halfpence, Machin's Mills Halfpence, Atlee Halfpence (James F. Atlee was the die sinker for the Machin organization) and Counterfeit Halfpence Struck in America. Today, the general group is commonly referred to as Machin's Mills pieces. Recent research by Gary Trudgen divides the majority of these particular specimens into four groups, primarily originating from the hand of die sinker James F. Atlee, with Groups 1 and 2 struck in New York City and Groups 3 and 4 at Machin's Mills.

A few researchers insist that there is no positive evidence that any of these pieces originated at the mills of Thomas Machin. For most of the early American coinages there is very little positive evidence that any specific coins originated at any specific mint site. We can only surmise and theorize, based on testimony of contemporary reports, that such coins did originate at certain places and until more specific evidence appears, there is little more that can be said about these origins. If evidence appears that some of these assumptions are in error, they will be published and corrections made to the published theories.

A detailed discussion of the Machin's Mills operations can be viewed on the University of Notre Dame Early American Numismatic Website at:

<http://www.coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinIntros/Machin.intro.html>

URL links to the 1964 and 1974 Vlack plates are given at the conclusion of the discussion.

**CNLF Checklist of Early American Counterfeit Halfpence
Believed Struck In America ¹**

Date on Specimen	Designations ²		Later Discoveries	Rarity ³			Comments
	1964 Plates	1974 Plates		1964	1974	2001	
1747	1-A	1-47		5	5	5	GEORGIVS.II.REX, only bust left
1771	2-B	2-71A		4	4	4	
1771	4-D	3-71B		5	5	5	
1771		4-71C		-	8	7+	
1771			4-71D	-	-	8	Discovered 1989, not on plates
1772	5-E	5-72A		6	6	6	
1772	3-E	6-72A		7	7	6+	
1772		7-72B		-	7	6+	GEORGIUS, V replaced by U
1772			24-72C	-	-	6+	Discovered 1981, not on plates
1774	4-F	3-74A		4	4	6	
1774		7-74A		-	7	6	GEORGIUS, V replaced by U
1774	6-F	8-74A		5	5	4	
1775		4-75A		-	2	4	
1776	3-C	6-76A		2	2	4	Large date
1776	7-G	9-76B		8	8	7	CEORCIVS, small date
1777	8-H	10-77A		8	8	8	See Note 4
1778	11-J	11-78A		1	1	3	
1778	9-I	12-78B		3	3	3	
1778	10-I	13-78B		3	3	5	
1784		14-84A		-	8	6	Small head on a thin neck ⁴
1785	12-NY	15-85NY		6	6	6	CEORCIVS III.REX./IMMUNE COLUMBIA
1786		16-86A		-	8	-	Large head, 7 shield stripes ⁴
1786		CT-86A		-	8	8	AUCTORI CONNEC, same reverse ⁴
1787		13-87CT		-	7	8	Reverse of 1787 G.2 Connecticut
1787	15-L	17-87A		3	3	2	
1787	15-M	17-87B		3	3	2	
1787			17-87E	-	-	7+	Discovered 1977, not on plates
1787	13-K	18-87C		3	3	4	
1787	14-K	19-87C		2	2	2	
1787		20-87C		-	8	7	
1787	VT-K	VT-87C		1	1	1	Vermont Ryder 13, reverse die worn
1787		21II-87C		-	8	7	
1787	16-N	21II-87DII		5	5	4	
1787		21I-87DI		-	6	6+	Dies of last, periphery worn
1787			23-87C	-	-	7+	Discovered 1983, not on plates
1788	10-CT	13-88CT		3	3	4	Reverse of 1788 D Connecticut
1788	17-VT	22-88VT		4	4	4	Vermont Ryder 31, reverse die worn
1788	18-O	23-88A		1	1	2	
Undated	7-NY	9-87NY		8	8	8	CEORCIVS, Indian reverse

1. These counterfeit specimens have been known by various names over time, including Tory Halfpence, Machin's Mills Halfpence, Atlee Halfpence and Counterfeit Halfpence Struck in America. Using the terminology developed by Byron K. Weston, varieties 10-77A and 14-84A are considered "Anonymous," and 16-86A and CT-86A are obviously NOT Atlee/Machin products.
2. Designations - The first refers to the plates produced in 1964 by Bob Vlack, the second to his plates as revised in 1974.
3. Rarities - the standard Sheldon scale; the first (1964) and second (1974) by Bob Vlack, and the third (2001) by Ed Sarrafian.
4. These varieties are now considered to be from a source other than "Machin's Mills." The remainder can be broken into four groups, where Groups 1 and 2 were probably produced in NYC before Machin's Mills became operational.